THE EXAMINER.

No. 230 SUNDAY, MAY 24, 1812.

THE POLITICAL EXAMINER.

Party is the madness of many for the gain of a few. SWIFT.

No. 224.

DISSOLUTION OF THE MINISTRY.

This is a very dull subject in one point of view, though pleasant enough in another, and as it may be dispatched in few words, the reader will excuse us if we shew no inclination to make much of it. If there are any Beings who love to haunt the minor offices of Government and to linger about the contemplation of such persons as the LIVERPOOLS and VANSITTARTS, their complexion is very different from ours. It is enough for us that we are obliged, like the offending Spirits in the poem, to be half stifled every now and then in the toilet atmosphere of the Court, and to gaze on the composition of that mysterious Personage,

Qui vescitur aurâ
Ætheria, nec adhuc crudelibus occubat umbris.—VIRGIL.

Who puff'd and potion'd up like any bladder,
Has certainly contriv'd to be no shadow.

The Reader may have already seen the Correspondence which has taken place between the remains of the PITTITE Cabinet and the party accounted nearest them, and if he has, he has no doubt admired, in common with others, the very imposing length to which Diplomatic Gentlemen can spin out one or two questions and answers, which might have been settled in as many sentences. We do not say that Statesmen, as well as other people, ought not to be very exact in their dealings; we wish to Heaven they stuck to the letter a little more than they do; but really, if every correspondence, that required exactness, were to be carried on in this manner, the two-penny postmen should ride about upon elephants, and every drawing-room be furnished with a crane to lift in the notes and billets-doux. With the exception of two or three passages in the document (No. 6.*) written by Marquis WELLESLEY, which do much honour to his Lordship's general appreciation of a Statesman's and Minister's duties, the whole of this Correspondence is nothing but common-place and tautology, and instead of occupying seven columns in a daily paper, might have been comprised in one. My Lord LIVERPOOL, who builds noun upon noun and sentence upon sentence in a most threatening manner, and who "begs *of*" a person to do such and such a thing, is exceedingly dull and overwhelming:—Mr. CANNING is much better, of course; but the Marquis is at once the best and the worst, his sentiments being expressed at one moment with considerable freedom and dignity, while at another he shrinks in and puts on as submissive and penetrated a countenance as any white-wanded Lord at a levee. The following paragraph, for instance, may be extremely well-bred and in the very first tone of the Court, but it certainly is not the language of such a spirit as these times require:—

"I receive this notification of the PRINCE REGENT's commands with every sentiment of duty and affection, while it affords me matter of just satisfaction, that to the distinguished honour of such condescending notice from his Royal Highness, is added so high a testimony of the confidence and esteem of all the respectable persons composing his present Administration"—with more, in the same strain, about "humility," "exalted authority," and "sincere regard."

The points in question just amounted to these. The survivors of Mr. PERCEVAL's Ministry were directed by the PRINCE REGENT to complete their number, and probably to strengthen it, if they could so contrive, by the acquisition of the Marquis WELLESLEY. The application was made accordingly, but in a manner which made it appear just what it was,—the performance of a disagreeable task, which they did not wish to succeed. It has justly been described as a still more petty imitation of the petty application to Lords GRENVILLE and GREY. "Will you," says Lord LIVERPOOL to the Marquis and Mr. CANNING, "join us upon our own terms?"—"Do you still adhere," says the answer, "to your resolution of not giving ear to the Catholic Question, and of not enlarging the system in the Peninsula?"—"We do," says the reply. "Then," says the rejoinder, "you know it is impossible for us to join you, and may as well not have asked the question."

So much for this correspondence of seven columns. It has done credit to the rejecting parties, and been neither of honour nor use to the applicants: for as the latter plainly evinced that they thought themselves qualified to conduct the Government alone, and proceeded to look big and efficient accordingly, some of their own friends thought the sight so ridiculous, that they fairly sided with Opposition and addressed the PRINCE REGENT on the subject, and the consequence has been, that to all intents and purposes the Ministry is dissolved. They still hold the seals of office; but negociations for a change are proceeding at this minute; and Lord CASTLEREAGH is stated to have confessed the other night to the Leaders of Opposi-

* "With the warmest sentiments of personal veneration, attachment, and gratitude, my opinion has always been, that the duty of loyalty and affection towards a British Sovereign does not consist in submissive obedience even to the honest prejudices or errors of the Royal mind, but, rather, in respectful endeavours to remove those prejudices and errors, by free advice in Council, and by temperate remonstrance in Parliament."—*Lord Wellesley to Lord Liverpool.*

tion, that he and his friends were really "out,"—a fact which nobody will dispute with his Lordship in any sense of the word.

The question then now is, who is the Minister?—And a very difficult question it is, not only when the times are considered, but when we consider the utter want of ground which the present soil of the Court furnishes for human calculation. It is possible that the Marquis WELLESLEY may still be at the head of affairs, though we suspect that the objections to him as a Minister come from a quarter in the Court, or rather from a quarter out of the *present* Court, to which people are little apt to look in general, and which, we are persuaded, has had more weight from first to last, and will continue to have more weight as long as the PRINCE exists, than any persons could suspect who do not take into consideration the force of habit upon weak Princes and the many secret obligations incurred by hampered and free-living Princes. As to the claims of the Marquis upon our good wishes, there can be no question that he has them, if his merits are to be estimated by mere contrast with those of the would-be administration. He can look abroad upon the political world with something like enlargement of view;—he is not a mere desk Minister,—an official appendage,—an empty head formed on an old block,—a spaniel to fetch and carry through all sorts of dirty ways and troubled waters:—he is not, in short, a mimic of mimics, a servant of a servant, as the LIVERPOOLS and VANSITTARTS would be, following like valets the steps of Mr. PERCEVAL, as Mr. PERCEVAL followed like a valet the steps of Mr. PITT:—in all this point of view, he is wisdom itself; and in any point of view, no change from such men can be for the worse:—but when we come to reflect on the peculiar nature of the present times, chiefly with regard to the deterioration of court-manners, to the indifference of those who should set an example, public and private, to the waste of the Constitution itself, and to the want of that master-spirit that should know how to put in practice the old maxim of renewing a government by restoring it to its first elements, the Marquis WELLESLEY is very far from satisfying, or at all coming up, to one's idea of a desirable Minister:—his private habits, his aristocratical pride, on the one hand, and courtliness on the other, his wasteful and Eastern notions of what is efficient as well as magnanimous in matters of policy, all give him an aspect very much the reverse of what is English, and very distinct from those great and simple qualities which have ever been esteemed the best security as well as ornament of this nation. Even in the policy which he holds out as desirable, it is not difficult, perhaps, to discern a feature that tells against him; the recommendation of giving a deliberate ear to the Catholic Question is worthy of the best Statesman; but what does he mean by proposing an extension of the scale of proceedings in the Peninsula? Twenty millions of money are already expended every year upon that quarter; and does his Lordship mean to tell us, as a proof of his enlightened knowledge of men and things, that if we can do nothing with twenty millions for a nation which ought to be able to work out her own salvation, we can do any thing more for her with forty millions? If Spain has that within her, which can enable her ultimately to root out her invaders, she can do it whether we assist her or not; and if she has it not within her, no assistance whatever can supply it. It is a matter of sentiment, of patriotic feeling, of a sense of present reliance on her chiefs and a confidence of future good treatment from their employers,—not a business of shoes and stockings, or the marchings and counter-marchings of an ally hither and thither. Something has been said in commendation of any change of the Peninsular system that should finish the struggle at once by strengthening the operations, and enabling them to strike some great and decisive blow; and certainly it would be better, in the worst view of the subject, to be defeated at once in whatever proportion, than to waste away our resources year after year in idle protraction; but of what nature is this blow? How is an additional sum of money to make the French Generals fight worse or the Spaniards better? What advantage will it be to Lord WELLINGTON to have money which will purchase nothing, and which certainly cannot enable him to shift his ground, if horses and men cannot do it? If the Noble Marquis intended to apply the money now expended in sinecures and other corruptions to the service of Spain, even its nominal application in that respect would have a much better sound, and do more credit to a Ministry, than its actual waste at present; but as this is not at all likely, or as the GRENVILLES and other protesters against improper expenses would be offended by it, and as the Marquis, in the courtliness of his heart, would be the very last to hurt the feelings of his Noble Friends, we really think, that what with the Income-tax, the Orders in Council, and the price of bread, we may reasonably be allowed to deprecate the application of East India statistics to the state of Europe, and to hope, with all proper deference, that the Noble Lord would rather see his countrymen have the requisite quantity to eat, than himself and his brother making a show to no purpose. His family may chuse to be covered with glory, as the French call it, but Englishmen in general prefer a clean shirt and flesh on their bones; and the two coverings of glory to the few, and good condition to the many, have been found by history and experience to be somewhat incompatible.

If the Marquis WELLESLEY should at last come in, the PRINCE REGENT will find himself awkwardly situated with all his Catholic recollections upon him, and will be at length absolutely forced upon measures, which he had declared to be set aside by the determination of Parliament. See to what people are exposed by a want of candour!—But we repeat, that it is impossible to speculate upon the movements of his Royal Highness's mind:—it is a barometer very subject, we believe, to the weather, but acted upon in a different manner from all other barometers. It has a knack, in particular, of being at blood-heat and

the freezing point at once,—a circumstance never known before in this Country but in the court of CHARLES the Second.

☞

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

FRANCE.

PARIS, MAY 9.—The Emperor set out to-day to proceed and inspect the grand army collected upon the Vistula.—Her Imperial Majesty will accompany his Majesty to Dresden, where she expects to enjoy the happiness of seeing her august family; she will return at latest in July. His Majesty the King of Rome will pass the summer at Meudon, where he has been for a month. The teething is entirely completed, and the King enjoys the most perfect health. He will be weaned at the end of the month.

MAY 14.—M. Boyer, first Surgeon to his Majesty, was in February last sent from Paris to Marshal Suchet in Southern Spain, who was then suffering from a fistula.—The operation performed on the Marshal has perfectly succeeded.

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

There has been nothing of importance before this House during the past week.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, May 20.

New Writs were moved for Northampton, in the room of Mr. Perceval; for Stafford, in the room of Sir Edward Lyttleton, deceased;—and for old Sarum, in the room of the Right Hon. Nicholas Vansittart, who had accepted the office of one of the Commissioners of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer.

JOHN BELLINGHAM.

Lord G. L. GOWER moved that there should be laid before that House, a copy of a letter which he had written to the Secretary of State for the home department, containing all circumstances relating to the case of John Bellingham. After the manner in which the conduct of Sir S. Shairpe in Russia had been arraigned by the prisoner, he thought the present proceeding one highly proper. The explanation was due not only to Sir Stephen, but to himself, to the memory of Mr. Perceval, and to the character of Government.—Ordered.

MR. PERCEVAL'S FAMILY.

Mr. LUSHINGTON brought up the Report of the Committee: upon the question that it should be read a second time,

Mr. WHITBREAD, Sir J. NEWPORT, and Sir F. BURDETT opposed the additional grant to Mr. Perceval's eldest son.—Mr. Whitbread thought that quite enough had been done; and Sir Francis said, that so far from the late Minister having any claims on the country, on the score of public services, it was his opinion that he merited public reprobation. With respect to his private virtues, he had no opportunity of knowing them; but admitting their existence, private virtues could not justify a grant of public money. As to the situation of Mrs. Perceval and her children, he felt for them as much as any person could, and he should have been among the first to prove his commiseration, had a private subscription for their relief been proposed; but, as the guardian of the public purse, he had no right to vote away public money upon such an occasion as was now before him.

On a division, there appeared for the Resolution, 171—Against it, 16.—The House then went into a Committee on the Orders in Council, and afterwards adjourned.

Thursday, May 21.

ADDRESS TO THE REGENT ON A CHANGE OF MINISTERS.

Mr. STEWART WORTLEY stated, that an Administration was on the eve of being formed, which, so far from being able to conduct the Government of the country in any way conducive to the safety and prosperity of the empire and their own honour, there was every reason to apprehend would only serve to plunge us deeper into those difficulties, from which they were utterly unable to rescue us. Thus feeling, and satisfied as he was that the persons about to be called in did not possess the confidence of the country, he should call upon the House to address his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, praying him to form an efficient Administration.—Mr. WORTLEY, after stating that he had always been in the habit of supporting Mr. Perceval's Administration, and that he was actuated in his present conduct solely by a sense of public duty and of public danger,—moved, "That an humble Address be presented to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, praying that he would be graciously pleased to take such measures as are best calculated to the promotion of a strong and efficient Administration.

Mr. EVRE opposed the motion as unconstitutional, as it was calling upon the House to interfere with the Royal Prerogative, in the undoubted right of the Crown to chuse its own servants: he therefore moved that the House should proceed to the Orders of the Day.

Lord MILTON said, that the motion was perfectly constitutional, and that the present Ministers had admitted their own incapacity by applying to others for aid.

Sir FRANCIS BURDETT was of opinion that no change of men would be productive of lasting benefit without a total change of measures. The only Administration fitted for the present awful situation of affairs was one that was pledged to the application of the national resources to national objects only,—that was pledged to the free admission of all their fellow subjects to every political advantage, independent of their conscientious adherence to any of the sects of Christianity,—and above all, that was pledged to a fair and constitutional *Reform* of the Representation of the People in that House. The nation had now witnessed all sorts of administrations: those possessing, as it was said, all the talents, and those excluding all the talents. They had been headed too by Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox, and yet our situation had every year proved worse. The same system had been persevered in, which had served only to augment our burthens and increase our evils. Considering all this, he should propose an amendment, expressive of the necessity of his Royal Highness naming an administration, founded on the principles he had laid down.

Mr. WILBERFORCE thought that the proposed motion was an unconstitutional one, and should therefore resist it. It would be proper to wait, in order that the House should be able to judge of the measures to be pursued, of which they were in ignorance.

Mr. WARD said they had been lately told that in Mr. Perceval all the deficiencies of the administration were supplied, such were his talents and popularity. If such were the case, it was not a little curious, that having lost such a head, the administration could hope to go on with any success.—Their late attempt to form a coalition with a Noble Marquis and a Right Hon. Gentleman, he considered as a most insincere one,—a mere pretext, intended to afford them an opportunity of remaining in office without any addition to their strength; for they had invited those persons to surrender all their principles, character, and pledges.—It was the duty of the House to interfere on such an occasion with their advice.

Lord WALPOLE opposed the motion.

Mr. RYDER was convinced that such a proceeding would be most unconstitutional. He was not now a Member of the Government, but he knew that the offers made to his Right Hon. Friend had been made with perfect sincerity. As to the capability of the Noble Lord now at the head of the Government (Lord Liverpool) he would only state, that Mr. Pitt had declared, some time previous to his death, that there was

not a man in the ranks of Opposition better qualified for the management of public affairs, with the exception only of Mr. Fox.—He could not believe it possible that the House would agree to a motion, which went to shew that all those measures it had hitherto approved, as essential to the glory and security of the Empire, were in reality detrimental to its best interests.

Mr. CANNING, after alluding to the offers just made to him, proceeded to support the motion. In compliance with the scruples of his venerable Sovereign, he had not pressed the Catholic Question on a former occasion; but what he had yielded to the conscience of the King, he should not yield to the convenience of Ministers. He saw no disposition in them ever to support the Catholic claims: instant concession he was not in favour of; all he wanted was, that those claims should be seriously considered by Government, with a view of conceding all that could be conceded with safety.

Lord CASTLEREAGH did not deny the right of the House to interfere with its advice to the Sovereign, but the grounds should be well weighed previously. The Members of Government had been sincerely anxious in their attempt to gain additional strength; and if they had failed, were they to blame?—Should they have acted with common courage or propriety, had they abandoned their posts, because the hand of an assassin had deprived them of the services of Mr. Perceval? As for his own part, he had tendered his resignation, in order that no obstacles should stand in the way of any arrangement his Royal Highness might think proper to make. That offer was not accepted, and he conceived it his duty to stand by the Sovereign in a moment of difficulty.—As to the Catholic Question, he again averred, that though the Catholics did support the Union from an understanding that *something* should be done for them, yet no *pledge* had been given by Government. (*Hear, hear!*) The war in the Peninsula was conducted on the greatest possible scale.—The present motion would only serve to throw a discredit on the Administration, when there was little prospect of forming a better.

After some further debate, a division ensued, when the motion was carried *against Ministers* by a majority of *four*, there being 174 for it, and 170 against it.—A motion was then made, that the Address should be carried to the Regent by such Members of the House as were Privy Counsellors. This was opposed by Ministers, and negatived by a majority of *two*.—It was then proposed that the Mover and Seconder (Mr. WORTLEY and Lord MILTON) should carry up the Address, which was carried.—Adjourned.

Friday, May 22.

PRINCE REGENT'S ANSWER TO THE ADDRESS.

Mr. STEWART WORTLEY and Lord MILTON appeared at the Bar. A perfect silence prevailed.—Mr. WORTLEY stated, that he had waited on his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, in pursuance of the Order of the House, and laid before him a Copy of their late Resolution; when his Royal Highness was graciously pleased to answer as follows:—"*I shall take into my serious and immediate consideration the Resolution now laid before me by the order of the House of Commons.*"

BERLIN AND MILAN DECREES.

Mr. BROUGHAM said, that the Prince Regent had recently issued a Declaration wherein his Royal Highness promised to repeal the Orders in Council as soon as it should appear that the Berlin and Milan Decrees were really renounced. Within these few days, a Declaration of the French Government had come to hand, wherein the principles of those Decrees were entirely renounced. On examining this French Document, he saw that it was dated as early as April, 1811, and he then concluded that the date must have arisen from a clerical error, because the British Declaration, to which the French one appeared to be an answer, was not in existence 15 months ago. It was known that much art was practised by the French Ministers in their diplomacy, and he wished to learn whether Ministers thought the French Document to be such as would justify them in rescinding the Orders in Council?

Lord CASTLEREAGH replied, that the Declaration alluded to had been notified to the Government only within these few days; and it was remarkable, that though the English Government had demanded such a declaration for a long period, neither they nor the American Minister could obtain it till just now, though it purported to have been made 15 months ago.—(*Hear, hear!*)—If he conceived this Declaration to have been made at the time stated, notifying a general and unconditional repeal of the Berlin and Milan Decrees, he should certainly have advised the repeal of the Orders in Council as far as related to America; but he considered the French Declaration as promising only a partial and conditional repeal, and as one of those Documents which so often disgraced the French Government.—(*Hear, hear!*)—It bore evidence of having been drawn up since the Prince Regent's Declaration issued a few weeks ago: the date given it proved nothing but the fraud of the transaction, which, in every view, would disgrace the Government of any civilized nation.

Mr. BROUGHAM admitted, that if the date was not a clerical error, it would certainly disgrace the Government which issued the Document.

Lord CASTLEREAGH added, in reply to a question put by Mr. BARING, that Government did not deem the French Document a satisfactory one.

The vote of 50,000*l.* to Mr. Perceval's family was finally agreed to; the House then proceeded to hear evidence as to the Orders in Council, and afterwards adjourned.

TUESDAY'S LONDON GAZETTE.

Whitehall, May 19.

Whereas it has been humbly represented to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, that the following anonymous threatening Letters have been sent to the Right Honourable Colonel M'Mahon:—

"Provisions Cheaper—*Bread or Blood*—Tell your Master he is a *Damn'd unfeeling Scoundrel*, and if he don't attend to the above, *Death* shall be his portion, & that soon, it's come to the point now, and we are determined to strike the decisive blow. "VOX POPULI."

"*May* 12—12."

Addressed to Colonel M'Mahon,
Carlton-House, Pall Mall.

"GEORGE PRINCE OF WALES,—Take care of yourself, for your Life is in danger, you shall meet the same fate as Mr. Percival if Billenghall is *hung before this reach you*. You blackguard you shall be shot before three months is elapsed if Billenghall is hung you shall be shot as sure as

"I remain, an Enemy of all the damned Royal Family."

Addressed to his Royal The Prince Regent,
With Speed. *Windsor.*

His Royal Highness, for the better apprehending and bringing to justice the persons concerned in writing and sending the anonymous Letters above-mentioned, is hereby pleased, in the name and on behalf of his Majesty, to promise his Majesty's most gracious pardon to any one of them (except the person who actually wrote the said letters) who shall discover his, her, or their accomplices therein, so that he, she, or they may be apprehended and convicted thereof. R. RYDER.

And, as a farther encouragement, a reward of One Thousand Pounds is hereby offered to any person making such discovery as aforesaid (except as before excepted) to be paid on the conviction of any one or more of the offenders by the Right Hon. the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

J. Boone, Piccadilly, haberdasher.

BANKRUPTS.

T. O. J. E. Hoolboon and Co. New Broad-street, merchants.
T. Winder and S. Greatorex, Narrow-Wall, coal merchants.
T. Gardiner, sen. and W. Gardiner, Leicester, and T. Gardiner, jun. London, hosiers.
C. Cyples, Bristol, glass-seller.
G. Potbury, Sidmouth, upholsterer.

F. Kidd, Liverpool, merchant.
J. Shield, Buccabank, Cumberland, dyer.
J. Eastall, Portsmouth, vintner.
H. and W. Cutbush, Maidstone, carpenters.

SATURDAY'S LONDON GAZETTE.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

T. Day, West Cowes, Isle of Wight, merchant.

BANKRUPTS.

J. Parker, Lower Mitton, Worcester, yarn-manufacturer.
J. Kneller, Gosport, stable-keeper.
N. Hyams, Duke-street, Aldgate, fishmonger.
C. Davis, Birmingham, shoe-maker.
W. Campion, Mumby, Lincoln, shopkeeper.
W. Cliffe, Westbromwich, Stafford, dealer in iron.
J. Brommage, Lower Mitton, Kidderminster, victualler.
T. Shepherd, Portsmouth, mealman.
T. Hart, Bristol, wharfinger.
A. Mein and O. Pell, Liverpool, merchants.
D. Maurice, Marlborough, Wilts, woollen-draper.
P. Begbie, Broad-street, London, insurance-broker.
S. Kettle, Edleston, Chester, dealer.

PRICE OF STOCKS ON SATURDAY.

Consols.....60⅝ 61⅛ 61 | Red. Ann.....60¼ ⅛

THE EXAMINER.

London, May 24.

The French Emperor, it really appears, has at last left his capital for the North, to inspect, says the account, the grand army upon the Vistula. Whether his presence will intimidate Alexander into submission, or whether another scene of blood and conquest is to ensue, the next advices will probably determine. There is, indeed a report that a sanguinary battle has already been fought; but this report does not appear to be well founded, and probably takes its rise merely from the well-known celerity and decision of Bonaparte when once in motion.

The *Courier*, of last night, in a Second Edition, gives the following article:—"It is believed, that in forming the new Administration, which it is generally known will be entrusted to the Marquis Wellesley and Mr. Canning, no overture is to be made either to Lord Grenville or Earl Grey—that probably overtures will be made to Lord Moira, Lord Holland, and the Marquis of Lansdowne—that no change will take place in the office now possessed by Mr. Wellesley Pole, though a successor will be appointed to the Duke of Richmond—that the new arrangement will proceed upon the principle that none of the present Ministers are to be included in it."

The *Sun* of last night had also a Second Edition, for the purpose of announcing the following intelligence:—"We have just heard that the Members of the present Cabinet have declined taking any part in any new arrangement that may be made. The new Cabinet, it is said, will consist of the Marquis Wellesley, Mr. Canning, the Marquis of Lansdowne, Lord Holland, Lord Moira, and Mr. Huskisson. The Marquis of Wellesley to be First Lord of the Treasury; Mr. Canning, Lord Holland, and the Marquis of Lansdowne, the three Secretaries of State; Mr. Huskisson, Chancellor of the Exchequer; and Lord Moira, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland."

The following is the French Decree alluded to by Mr. Brougham in Parliament:—

"*Palace of St. Cloud, April* 23, 1811.

"Napoleon, Emperor of the French, King of Italy, Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, Mediator of the Swiss Confederation,—

"On the Report of our Minister for Foreign Affairs,

"In consequence of the Act of the 2d of March, 1811, by which the Congress of the United States have enacted exemptions from the provisions of the Non-Intercourse Act, which prohibit the entrance into the American ports to the ships and goods of Great Britain, of its colonies, and dependencies;

"Considering that the said Law is an act of resistance to the arbitrary pretensions consecrated by the British Orders in Council, and a formal refusal to adhere to a system derogatory to the independence of neutral Powers, and of their flag;

"We have decreed, and decree as follows:—

"The Decrees of Berlin and Milan are definitively, and from the date of the 1st of November last, considered as never having taken place (*non avenues*) with regard to American vessels.

(Signed) "Napoleon.

(True Copy) (Signed) "The Count Daru."

"A vessel from the other side of the coast states, that a battle has been fought between the Russians and French, which lasted two days. The result is not stated, and we give the report without vouching in any manner for its authenticity. Three French Regiments are said to have been cut to pieces."—*Sun.*

The Gazette contains some sad trash of Letters, addressed to the Prince and Col. M'Mahon. What could be the motive for publishing such miserable stuff? *Is it wanted, for any purpose, to sound an alarm?*

New York Papers have been received to the 18th April. They give an extract of a letter from Mr. Barlow to a friend at Washington, under date Paris, February 29, that "there is no hope of a commercial or any other advantageous arrangement with France."

The papers say that Lucien Bonaparte is to be sent out of the country, in consequence of the discovery of some Correspondence.

The Common Council sent up on Friday an Address of Condolence to the Regent on the foul murder of Mr. Perceval.—It is a very magnificent, discriminating composition. The Citizens express their "horror, detestation, and grief," at the crime; and assure the Prince, that he has lost a most faithful servant, and the country has been deprived of "one of her brightest ornaments:" for they affirm that the late Minister's patriotism was the most ardent and disinterested, his integrity the most inflexible, his industry the most persevering, his manners the most conciliatory, and his private virtues the admiration of all; and after all this, they wisely lament that language cannot express their feelings!—The Prince, in reply, says, that these sentiments are most consonant to his own opinions and feelings; that his mind is relieved, by the proof afforded by the trial of the assassin, that the dreadful act was not connected with any sanguinary system; and he trusts that our annals will not again be sullied by a crime, which the generous and manly character of the British people has ever held in peculiar detestation.

Had not the House of Commons interfered with its vote, Lord Liverpool would have been the Prime Minister, Earl Bathurst the Minister at War, and Mr. Vansittart the Chancellor of the Exchequer!

The Property Tax for the year ending the 5th April, 1811, amounted to 11,322,454*l.*—That for the year ending the 5th of April, 1812, was 5,231,936*l.*

Lord G. L. Gower has published his statement relative to the treatment *Bellingham* received in Russia. His Lordship says, that Bellingham and one Dorbecker had mutual claims on each other, and that on the matter being submitted to the arbitration of four merchants, two chosen by Bellingham himself, it was decided against him, when he refused to pay the sum awarded. A suit was afterwards commenced against Bellingham respecting the insurance of a ship, which was stated to have been a fraudulent affair. Bellingham having attempted to quit Russia before the suit was terminated, he was arrested and thrown into prison, from which he was liberated by the intervention of Sir S. Shairpe. The award against Bellingham being confirmed by the Senate, he was again arrested, when he applied to Lord Gower, who could on no pretence apply officially for his release, as he was confined by the legal authority of Russia, the College of Commerce, whose acts had been recognised by the treaty between the two nations. During his confinement he received various small sums of money from Lord Gower's private Secretary. Lord Gower expressed a private wish for his release, but soon after quitted Russia altogether.

Eaton, who was recently found guilty of publishing the Third Part of Paine's *Age of Reason*, will be put into the pillory on Tuesday next. What a liberal and tolerant act!—This unfortunate old man is thus severely punished for doing that in England which whole bodies of Englishmen are constantly attempting in India and elsewhere.—Missionaries are now, and have long been, at work, to overthrow the national faith of the Hindoos by their preachings and writings. If an Asiatic Prince were to seize and punish one of those persons, what an outcry would be made by the fanatics here, though they are practising themselves the very thing they would so loudly condemn.—*Eaton's* conduct on his trial was certainly not the best adapted to excite our respect for him; but he is unquestionably a persecuted man.—It is said that he intends publishing the Report of the Trial at length, and it will be very curious, as Mr. Prince Smith's ingenious address to the Court in his favour has been but partially reported in the papers.

The rioters in Nottinghamshire, by the latest accounts, are still proceeding in their fatal career. It is said, that three persons have recently been shot by the *Luddites*, without any discovery of the assassins, and persons are even assaulted at noon day.

The Mr. Hunt, who some time agò made such a disgusting speech at the Crown and Anchor, has offered himself to the Citizens of Bristol, to represent them in Parliament.—It appears that he harangued the Bristol people on Monday last, in an equally violent and vulgar style.—If any thing could bring the great cause of Reform into contempt, it would be the pernicious conduct of such men, who are, in fact, the best friends of corruption and tyranny.

In the list of the Majority upon Mr. Wortley's motion, the name of Mr. Geo. Longman, Member for Maidstone, was by mistake omitted.

The death of Mr. Pether, the landscape-painter, was recently announced in this paper. For three years previous to his decease, he had been afflicted with an illness which prevented his usual exertions, so that his family, a wife and *nine* children, were reduced to the most painful situation:—out of this large family, seven are now dependant on Mrs. Pether for support, who has thus to sustain, not only the loss of an affectionate husband, but the heavy task of supplying the wants of her afflicted children. Thus circumstanced, a subscription for Mrs. Pether has been announced at Southampton; and as she has no hope of being able to supply the necessary wants of her family by any other means, it is to be hoped that friends will be found in London equally disposed to join in the charitable work. Mr. Hammersley of Pall-Mall, has consented to receive subscriptions at his banking-house; and the Printer of this Paper is equally willing to convey to the widow of a worthy man, and ingenious artist, any donations which may be left for the benefit of his helpless family.

Sittings appointed in Middlesex and London, before the Right Hon. Edw. Lord Ellenborough, Lord Chief Justice, &c. in and after Trinity Term, 1812:—

IN TERM.

MIDDLESEX.		LONDON.	
Wednesday, -	June 3	Thursday, -	June 4
Monday, - -	8	Thursday, - -	11
Monday, - - -	15	Tuesday, - -	16

AFTER TERM.

Thursday, - -	18	Friday, - -	19

LORD CASTLEREAGH.

Sir—We cannot but regard with indignation the injustice of some of the Daily Papers towards Lord Castlereagh, in their Reports of Thursday's Debate, in having omitted that part of his speech where he told the House that "he hoped his honour was never yet called in question, and *if it were, he should consider it next to lost.*" We, his ever attached friends, beg that you will not be guilty of the same omission.

Parliamentarius Traficus.
Hibernicus Hang-by-the-Heels.
Walcherinus Fatten-Marshes.
Unique Ready-Lies.

HIGH PRICE OF BREAD.

Sir,—I am perfectly aware of the great neglect with which anonymous hints are usually treated by those persons whose duty to the public ought to overcome so ill founded a prejudice; but I also trust that the importance of the present subject will claim some portion of their attention. It needs not any argument to prove, that among the lower classes, bread is the principal article of food on which they subsist, as being the cheapest and most wholesome they can buy. Notwithstanding its comparative cheapness with respect to other articles, yet a most alarming increase in the price of bread itself has, within these few years, taken place; and it is not uncommon for corn to meet with an advance of from 20 to 40 per cent. during a current year: many reasons have been assigned for this, but it seems most probably owing to the corn passing through so many hands, as a Correspondent in the *Examiner* of the 5th of January, who signs himself G. G. very justly observes. I have every reason to believe the

account of the "System of Fraud" in his letter to be strictly true. It is upon the poorer classes of society that this evil principally falls: to them it is unavoidable; they may complain, but the cries of the indigent are unheard. About the latter end of July, the quartern loaf was sold at 13½*d.* in November, at 18½*d.* Suppose a labouring man who receives 20*s.* per week, with a wife and family of five children—these cannot consume less than seven loaves a-week, which at 18½*d.* per loaf, amounts to 10*s.* 9½*d.* leaving only a surplus of 9*s.* 2½*d.* for meat, clothes, lodging, &c. To him therefore, an advance of 5*d.* upon each loaf must be peculiarly distressing; half the product of his labor is spent in bread alone, leaving barely sufficient for the other common necessaries of life. Increased poverty, want, and misery, are dreadful consequences of the unfeeling avarice of an hard-hearted monopolizer!!! The father of the family perhaps wastes his existence in a gaol, or driven to desperation, by violating the laws of his country, meets an ignominious death: while his wretched family are either supported by an *indifferent* parish, or perish without a friend to assist them!!!

The proud, the wealthy, and the gay, may think this picture overdrawn, but you, Mr. Examiner, from your public capacity as an Editor, must know it to be a true one, and the imaginary distress of a single individual, to be a faithful representation of that of the whole of the lower orders of the community. I am of opinion, that if an equal advance were to take place on those articles which custom has rendered indispensable to persons of liberal incomes, a very serious investigation would ensue, and every endeavour used to stop the "growing evil;" but as the high price of bread does not seriously affect their pockets, it is, alas! but seldom a matter of concern to them, whether the poor feel it or not. Notwithstanding this general neglect of the indigent, I still hope and trust that some *friend of the people*, some disinterested Member of the Parliament, will propose some means of relief, without burthen to the country, already sufficiently loaded with taxes. In the mean time, wishing to agitate the question, I beg leave humbly to suggest the following plan:—Let a Committee of Gentlemen (not Millers or Corn-factors, but perfectly independent) be appointed, who shall, when corn or flour (which ever shall be deemed the most proper) is cheap, purchase a quantity of it, and deposit it in a *Public Granary*. When, from any real or artificial scarcity, the corn or flour shall rise to a certain price, (to be the maximum, say 18*d.*) the Public Granary shall be opened, and the corn or flour sold to the bakers at a price considerably lower than the factors: it might also be vended at a *very* small profit, which would contribute towards the expence of the Granary. This scheme, I think, Sir, justifiable, from the examples we have of such institutions in history, both sacred and profane, from its feasibility, and from the benefits likely to result from it. Surely, from the various Funds annually voted by Parliament, something might be curtailed, and with the surplus above-mentioned, be applied to the support of an Establishment which would tend to banish discontent, promote social order, and ameliorate the condition of the lower classes of society. In a real scarcity, its good effects would be obvious to every one; an artificial one would be entirely prevented by it, as no person could derive any profit from a monopoly of the grain, when the public could be supplied with it at a much lower rate. PHILANTHROPOS.

FINE ARTS.

MR. WILKIE'S EXHIBITION.

The picture of *Blindman's Buff*, designed for the Prince Regent, is unfinished. It has not yet obtained its most delicate gradations, impressive tones, and heightening touches; but it not only exhibits a masterly arrangement, and is enlivened by a genial spread of mellow colour, but glows with nearly the Painter's full sunshine of intellect, with his all-efficient display of character. Age may here have its heart enlivened by the awakened recollection of the mirthful feelings of sportive youth. The furniture of a room stowed at one end, the groping of the blinded youth, the wary movements of the rest, the apprehensions of those in danger of being seized, the kissing of a girl by two enamoratoes, and the tumbling of a group over a chair, among which a boy is rubbing in agony his wounded shin, are all most animated and faithful copyings of nature. The young man advancing in the middle of the scene is a portrait of the able Artist Mr. Mulready.

The several Portrait Pieces are strong identifications of nature.

His *Alfred reprimanded by the Neatherd's Wife* possesses his usual truth of common-life character; and though the King is deficient in dignity, his countenance is admirably expressive of that absorption of thought so appropriate to his forlorn circumstances.

The Wardrobe Ransacked is, I think, an unsurpassed specimen of flesh colour, of deep and harmonious grey tone, and of vivacious action.

The Sick Lady is a picture of solemn and powerful effect; but I think he has been here less happy than usual in his carnations.

His *Card Players*, admirable as it is for character, is rather obtrusive in some of the secondary objects. The sallad, &c. on a table, is most naturally, and indeed exquisitely touched.

The rest of his pieces are admirably characterised, and for the most part, beautifully coloured.

Lord Mulgrave is enviable for his possession of the ten Sketches in this Exhibition, besides the *Rent-day*, for the genius displayed in them is beyond any specific pecuniary valuation.

ROYAL ACADEMY EXHIBITION.

It is no difficult task for a painter of moderate talents, to whom practice has given a mechanical dexterity of hand, and who has a correct eye, to paint an agreeable exterior. He may easily paint a pretty girl, and, adding an old woman, call her *Lavinia*. He has only to copy what he can scarcely fail to find among his acquaintance. But to elevate his thoughts above common-place forms and conceptions, to paint the less obvious fabric of mind, to

> "Give to corporeal essence life and sense,
> "And ev'ry stately function of the soul,"

this is alone the privilege of genius. It is no small portion of this superior talent that is required justly to pourtray "the lovely young Lavinia," whom a favourite poet has adorned not only with the "kindest aspect of delighted Heaven," as "beauty's self," but with "enlivening sense, and more than vulgar goodness." If my feelings are correct, 126, *Lavinia*, H. THOMSON, R.A. bears but

a faint resemblance to this highly amiable and interesting character. She has an intelligent look, and appears struck with the "mournful tale her mother told," but is devoid of the delicate sensibility and beauty of her archetype. The colouring and effect of the picture are pleasing and appropriate, as is the matronly and melancholy aspect of the mother.—The same artist had his genius more awake, and in a much happier mood, when he painted 163, *the Infancy of Jupiter*. We recognise the infant god not only by his fulmen, but by the premature nobleness of his port, and by an expression intimating the consciousness of his divinity. The expression would be complete, if his look was divested of a degree of sullenness. The intelligent countenances and graceful forms of Amalthea, Jupiter's royal nurse, and the other females, make them appear worthy of so important a charge as the infant Jupiter. The gradations and tints of colour on his naked body are delicate and beautiful; but if reduced to the standard of Nature, and of those that are acknowledged to be its best imitators, I think I shall be justified in objecting to the prevalence of its purple hue. Mr. Thomson has introduced a very spiritedly drawn and classical back-ground of rocky mountains, and a mountain tree, from whose grey tints the warm hues of the figures have a rich and forcible relief. The goat he has so well grouped with the other figures refers to the milk on which Jupiter fed.—This picture is the production of a mind alive to the fine impulses of taste.

220, *Genevieve, from Mr. Coleridge's Poem, entitled "Love."* G. Dawe, A.—The young man on his knee singing to a Lady who is pensively and elegantly leaning on a pedestal, is an impassioned exemplification of these pleasing lines:—

> "The low, the deep, the pleading tone,
> With which I sang another's love,
> Interpreted my own,
> She listen'd with a flitting blush,
> With downcast eyes and modest grace,
> And she forgave me that I gaz'd
> Too fondly on her face."

It is to be regretted that Mr. Dawe's graphic translation should be deteriorated by any kind of feebleness in his language. The figures are of an unseemly thinness, and the eloquently pleading lover has an effeminacy of appearance by no means calculated to aid his otherwise impressive suit. The picture has a delicate lightness of effect arising from the brilliant lights relieving from a large proportion of half tints, from the prevalent grey hue, partially, but agreeably, dashed by a warm one, from the clearness of the tints, and from the playfulness of the penciling.

112, *The Country Auction*. E. Bird.—The various persons collected round the Auctioneer are marked by a suitable character of curiosity, attention, mirth, and business, a character of which Nature is the prototype. Mr. Bird has evidently much improved in executive power. We do not see those wooden hands, and that tame marking, which were observable in his former pieces from familiar life; but the colouring and chiaro-scuro are rather heavy. I take this opportunity of stating, in reply to a Correspondent, who some time since, in this Paper, charged me with injustice in my comparative estimate of [illegible] powers of Messrs. Bird and Wilkie, that neither this [illegible] picture which has preceded it, alters my opinion [illegible] inferiority of Mr. Bird's pencil, especially in the executive and mechanical skill. But granting that Mr. Bird has as strong a conception of character, his inferiority of touch, sweetness and harmony of colour, and arrangement of light and shade, conveys his conceptions with much less force and interest to the eye. If his thoughts are as true to Nature as Mr. Wilkie's, his language is not so competent to their display. If the intellectual spring is originally as clear, the medium through which it passes gives it an inferior relish. His ability, however, in pathetic as well as in comic subjects, raises him to a high rank in Art.

62, *Reading the Will*, and 75, *A Scotch Wedding*, W. Lizars, are pictures that display a degree of talent much above mediocrity. If some of their passages rather border on excess of character, others are unaffected and natural, and all are interesting and vigorous. The squareness that prevails throughout all the forms, is too conspicuous. It is a beauty ostentatiously displayed. The arrangement of the light and shade is broad and tasteful, but the colouring of the light parts is of an unpleasant gamboge yellowness, especially the flesh, the dark tints of which are opaque and dirty. The tippling satisfaction of a woman holding her glass for replenishment, the wistful, liquor-loving look of a drunkard on the floor at a woman who carries a bowl, and the joyous hobbing-a-nob of the lovers, are among the best wrought incidents.

360, *Themistocles at the Court of Admetus*. A. Perigal.—This picture obtained the first Historical Prize given at the Royal Academy last year, and is distinguished by grace and energy of character, and much force and clearness of chiaroscuro and colour; it has been purchased by Mr. Hooper, of Kent.

SPRING GARDEN WATER COLOUR EXHIBITION.

As in Morality those virtues are the most noble and praiseworthy that are unmixed with ostentation, so in Art, such works alone call forth our unqualified praise, whose beauties shine out without any affectation in their display. Perhaps there never was a Professor more conspicous for this excellence than Mr. R. R. Reinagle, in his particular department of Painting. His effects of light and shade, and his tints and tones of colour, are as rich and bright as possible, but it is a brightness that is never induced by any vehemence of opposition, by any forcing out by contrast. His chiaro-scuro and colour are blended with such sweetness, or contrasted with such delicacy, and are spread with so much amenity, that the utmost elegance and harmony is the result. His objects too, while they possess the truth and simplicity of nature, are always elegant in their forms and arrangement. In fine, he unites grace with purity of style.

Among many beautiful pieces, 24, *Scene on the Grand Junction Canal*,—87, *Preparing to milk—hazy morning*,—98, *Cattle—afternoon*,—and 206, *Neapolitan Fishermen*,—are in every respect highly estimable.

Mr. Hills has this year exhibited a wider range of talent, in various Landscapes from familiar nature, peopled with a capital breed of cattle, equally admired by the Naturalist, the Agriculturist, and the Artist, and in a figure piece of good general character, 37, *A Man perishing in a Snow Storm*. He well discriminates the peculiar leafage of his trees, which, however, are rather of a monotonous gamboge colour in the lights, and of an inky insipidity in the shadows. His effects border on crude-

ness, arising principally from their want of concentration in the lights, which are sometimes spotty.

(To be continued.)

In Mr. TURNER'S PRIVATE GALLERY, just opened to the admirers of superior genius in Landscape painting, are various masterly Portraitures of common Nature, and scenes from classic lore fraught with poetic feeling.

In Mr. WESTALL'S GALLERY, also just opened to the private view of the lovers of Art, is exhibited his splendidly coloured and elegant picture of *Dionysius and Damocles*, painted for the distinguished patron of British Art, Mr. T. Hope.

ENGRAVINGS.

From Mr. STOTHARD'S masterly drawing of *Boadicea animating the Britons to defend their Country against the Romans*, Mr. SHARPE has executed a print that displays his well known talent, especially in the group of warriors who are listening with patriotic indignation to the impressive harangue of the Queen. Their mostly naked forms have a very fleshy character, arising from the spirited and delicate touches and gradations, and the judicious direction of the lines, broken and dotted in the light parts, and in their blendings with the shadows. Mr. SHARPE, whose works are in such high estimation throughout Europe, has been recently elected a Member of the Imperial Academy of Arts at Vienna, with the celebrated RAPHAEL MORGHEN, of Florence. Mr. SHARPE is not a Member of our Royal Academy, and this fact alone is a convincing proof of the utter neglect with which *merit* is treated by that intriguing body. They fill their list of engravers with such men as COLLYER and FITTLER, and overlook or refuse a SCHIAVONETTI and a SHARPE!

Mr. SCRIVEN'S Print of GERHARD DOW, from the Marquis of STAFFORD'S Collection, is copied with a rich variation of grain, and with a spirited and highly finished faithfulness of form and effect. It ranks among the first performances in the mixed style of engraving, and, both from its size and merit, is one of the most valuable prints hitherto engraved for *Longman's British Gallery*.

From an admirable *Portrait of Sir J. Banks* by T. PHILLIPS, R. A., Mr. N. SCHIAVONETTI has executed a large Print, in which the likeness and character are well preserved. The lines are played over the forms with such freedom and taste, that we regret that the able Artist does not clear out his copper a little better, so as to obviate a want of clearness of grain. R. H.

LORD WELLESLEY'S STATEMENT.

"Lord Wellesley expressed his intention to resign, because his general opinions, *for* a long time past, on various important questions, had not sufficient weight to justify him towards the public, or towards his own character, in continuing in office; and because he had no hope of obtaining from the Cabinet, (as then constituted,) a greater portion of attention than he had already experienced.

"Lord Wellesley's objections to remaining in the Cabinet arose, in a great degree, from the *narrow* and imperfect scale on which the efforts in the Peninsula were conducted. It was always stated to him by Mr. Perceval, that it *was impracticable* to *enlarge* that system. The Cabinet followed Mr. Perceval implicitly. Lord Wellesley thought that it *was perfectly practicable* to extend the plan in the Peninsula; and that it was neither safe nor honest towards this country or the allies, to continue the present contracted scheme. No hope existed of converting Mr. Perceval, or any of his colleagues: no alternative, therefore, remained for Lord Wellesley but to resign, or to submit to be the instrument of a system which he never advised, and which he could not approve.

"Lord Wellesley had repeatedly, with great reluctance, yielded his opinions to the Cabinet on many other important points. He was sincerely convinced by experience, that in every such instance he had submitted to opinions more incorrect than his own; and had sacrificed to the object of accommodation and temporary harmony, more than he could justify in point of strict public duty. In fact, he was convinced by experience, that the Cabinet neither possessed ability nor knowledge to *devise* a good plan, nor temper and discernment to *adopt* what he now thought necessary, unless Mr. Perceval should concur with Lord Wellesley. To Mr. Perceval's judgment or attainments Lord Wellesley, (under the same experience) could not pay any deference, without injury to the public service.

"With these views and sentiments, on the [16th] of January, Lord Wellesley merely desired permission to withdraw from the Cabinet; not requiring *any change* in his own situation, and imploring no other favour than the facility of resignation. This plain request was notified to the Prince Regent and to Mr. Perceval as nearly as possible at the same moment of time; with the expression of Lord Wellesley's wish, that the *precise* time of his resignation might be accommodated to the pleasure of his Royal Highness, and to the convenience of Mr. Perceval, as soon as the Restrictions should expire.

"The Prince Regent received this notification with many gracious expressions of regret; and Mr. Perceval, *in writing*, used expressions of regret, and also of *thanks for* the manner in which Lord Wellesley had signified his wish to resign.

"Mr. Perceval, *without any communication* to Lord Wellesley, instantly attempted to induce the Prince Regent to remove him before the expiration of the Restrictions; and repeatedly urged the attempt with great earnestness; severally proposing Lord Moira, Lord Castlereagh, and Lord Sidmouth, or some of his party, to supersede Lord Wellesley without an hour of delay. Mr. Perceval *never gave any intimation* to Lord Wellesley of these proceedings, nor even of his wish for Lord Wellesley's immediate retirement.

"The Prince Regent still pressing Lord Wellesley to retain the seals, he submitted to his Royal Highness's commands; declaring at the same time his anxious desire to be liberated, as soon as his Royal Highness should establish his Government.

"When it appeared, at the expiration of the Restrictions, that the Prince Regent intended to continue Mr. Perceval's government, Lord Wellesley again tendered the Seals to his Royal Highness with increased earnestness. On that occasion, being informed that his Royal Highness was still at liberty, and was resolved to form his Cabinet according to his own views, and being *commanded to state his opinions* on the subject, Lord Wellesley declared, that in his judgment the Cabinet ought to be formed, *first*, on an intermediary principle respecting the Roman Catholic Claims, equally exempt from the extremes of instant, unqualified concession, and of peremptory, eternal exclusion; and, *secondly*, on an understanding that the war should be conducted with adequate vigour. Lord Wellesley said, that he personally was ready to serve *with* Mr. Perceval on such a basis; that he never again would serve *under* Mr. Perceval in any circumstances. He said, that he would serve under Lord Moira, or Lord Holland, on the proposed principles; but that he desired no office, and entertained no other wish than to be instrumental in forming such an Administration for the Prince Regent, as should be consistent with his Royal Highness's honour, conciliatory towards Ireland, and equal to the conduct of the war on a scale of *sufficient extent*. He made no exception to any Prime Minister but Mr. Perceval, whom he considered to be incompetent to fill the office, although sufficiently qualified for inferior stations. He offered to act under any other person approved by his Royal Highness; but he stated, that his own views rendered him much more anxious to resign instantly.

"The Prince Regent commanded Lord Wellesley to continue

until his Royal Highness should have communicated with Mr. Perceval through the Lord Chancellor. Lord Wellesley stated, that such a communication must prove useless, but submitted to his Royal Highness's earnest desire. In two days afterwards, Lord Wellesley received, through the Lord Chancellor, the Prince Regent's acceptance of his resignation, and accordingly delivered the Seals to his Royal Highness on the 19th of February, 1812."

MINISTERIAL PROPOSALS.

A Set of Papers have been published, relative to an attempt made by the Ministers to form a coalition with Lord Wellesley and Mr. Canning, consisting of Minutes of Conversation and Letters, in which the Earl of Liverpool, Lord Wellesley, and Mr. Canning, are the speakers and writers.

No. I. Is a Note from Mr. Canning to Lord Wellesley, inclosing a Minute of Conversation taken in Lord Liverpool's presence, May 17, 1812.—It states, that the Prince Regent had commanded Lord Liverpool to apply to Lord Wellesley and Mr. Canning, in consequence of the death of Mr. Perceval, "his Royal Highness being desirous of continuing his Administration upon its present basis, was desirous also of strengthening it as much as possible, by associating to it such persons in public life as agreed most nearly and generally in the principles upon which public affairs had been conducted;" —that Lord Liverpool and his Colleagues had no objection to act with Lord Wellesley and Mr. Canning;—that Lord Castlereagh's place was to be preserved to him;—and that as to the Catholic Question, the opinions of Ministers remained unchanged.

No. II. Is a Minute of Conversation between Lords Liverpool and Wellesley, which passed at Apsley House on the 17th inst.—From this conversation it appears that Lord WELLESLEY urged the necessity of a consideration of the Catholic Question, and a more extensive system of war in the Peninsula. Lord Liverpool replied, that the opinions of Ministers remained as before on the Catholic Question, and that as to the war in the Peninsula, there never had been any limit to the exertions in that quarter, but what arose out of the question of practicability, that is, the means of increasing and supplying the armies.—Lord Wellesley asked whether Lord Sidmouth and his friends were to remain, and "whether all those persons now designated by the name of the Opposition were to be excluded from the proposed scheme of Administration?"—Lord Liverpool, in answer, said that Lord Sidmouth and his friends were to remain; and that with regard to the Opposition, no system of exclusion was intended, but that he was not authorized to make any proposal to any persons of the description mentioned.—Here Lord Wellesley observed, that considering the mode of communication, he wished to know whether he was applied to *as part of Mr. Canning's suite?* remarking, at the same time, that he thought Mr. Canning should hold a high and efficient situation in any Administration to be constituted on a foundation of justice towards individual talents and services, or towards the interests of the country; but that Mr. Canning and himself were both free to act as each might think fit.

No. III. Is a Note from Mr. Canning to Lord Wellesley, inclosing a Letter to Mr. Canning from Lord Liverpool relative to Lord Castlereagh.—The Letter states, that Lord Castlereagh, from motives of delicacy, had absented himself from the Cabinet when the proposition for a coalition had been discussed, but that his Lordship had no objection to the proposed arrangements.

No. IV. Is a Letter from the Marquis Wellesley to the Earl of Liverpool, inclosing the following Reply to the Proposal:—

LORD WELLESLEY'S REPLY TO LORD LIVERPOOL'S PROPOSITION.

Apsley House, May 18.

From the communication received through Lord Liverpool, I understand, that his Royal Highness the Prince Regent has been graciously pleased to signify his desire of strengthening his Administration upon its present basis, by associating me with it, as one of those persons who agree most nearly and generally in the principles upon which public affairs have been conducted.

From the same communication I also derive the gratifying intelligence, that all Lord Liverpool's colleagues have authorized him to express a disposition to act with me, under an arrangement, consistent with their own honour and duty, and honourable and satisfactory to me.

I receive this notification of the Prince Regent's commands with every sentiment of duty and affection, while it affords me matter of just satisfaction, that, to the distinguished honour of such condescending notice from his Royal Highness, is added so high a testimony of the confidence and esteem of all the respectable persons composing his present Administration.

With all humility towards the exalted authority from which this proposition proceeds, and with the most sincere regard for those through whom it is conveyed, I must, however, declare, that I should have declined it at the first instant of its approach, if motives of deference and submissive attachment had not imposed upon me the obligation of receiving it with respectful consideration.

The proposition necessarily rests upon a supposition, that I entertain no such difference of public sentiment with the present Administration as should preclude me from acting with them, under an arrangement, compatible with our mutual and respective honour and duty.

But it appears from Lord Liverpool's candid and explicit statement, that, upon the important question, which regards the laws affecting the Roman Catholics, Lord Liverpool's opinions remain unchanged; nor is he aware that the sentiments of his colleagues, on that subject, have undergone any change.

I must therefore conclude, that the policy which has been pursued respecting the Roman Catholics, during the present Session of Parliament, is to be continued without abatement; the general constituent parts of the present Cabinet are to remain unchanged; the highest and most efficient offices in the State, therefore, are to be filled by persons, who still conceive themselves to be bound by duty, honour, and conscience, not only to resist any mitigation of the present condition of the Roman Catholics, but even to prevent the consideration of the laws which affect that large portion of the population of the empire.

I cannot concur in the principle, on which the present Administration has conducted this important branch of public affairs: on this point, I have recently expressed the strongest difference of opinion with the present Administration.

The declaration of Lord Liverpool precludes the hope of any such change in the policy of the present Administration towards the Roman Catholics as could satisfy my judgment. The difference is of the utmost importance: without any obstacle, therefore, this alone compels me to decline the proposition which Lord Liverpool has conveyed to me.

I entertain a confident expectation, that when the Prince Regent shall have considered the nature of this difficulty, he will extend his indulgence to my humble representation, and will relieve me from the pressure of commands, which I could not obey, without sacrificing a public principle of the highest obligation.

These observations compose a sufficient reply to the communication received through Lord Liverpool. But I deem it to be a duty towards the Prince Regent to declare, that the considerations which induced me, on the 19th of February, to resign the station which I had the honour to hold in his Royal Highness's service, have acquired additional force since that time, and would constitute an insuperable obstacle to my acceptance of any station in the present Administration.

I originally expressed my desire to withdraw from Mr. Perceval's Administration, because my general opinions, for a long time past, on various important questions, had not sufficient weight in that Cabinet, to justify me towards the public, or towards my own character, in continuing in office.

My objections to remaining in that Cabinet, arose, in a great degree, from the imperfect scale on which the efforts in the

Peninsula were conducted. It was always stated to me, that it was impracticable to enlarge that system. I thought it was perfectly practicable to extend the plan in the Peninsula, and that it was neither safe nor honest towards this country or the Allies to continue the present inadequate scheme.

From Lord Liverpool's statement upon this point, it is evident, that since my resignation, it has been found practicable to make some extension of the system in the Peninsula: but it is still intimated, that my views are more extensive than the resources of the country can enable the Government to reduce to practice. I, however, still entertain the same views and opinion, without diminution or alteration; and I am convinced, that a considerable extension of the scale of our operations in the Peninsula, and also an effectual correction of many branches of our system in that quarter, are objects of indispensible necessity, and of easy attainment.

With such a decided difference of opinion, in relation to the conduct and management of the war, my return into a Cabinet composed as the present is, would offer to me no better prospect than the renewal of discussions, which have hitherto proved unavailing.

I learn from Lord Liverpool, that he has received no authority, in forming the intended Administration, to make any proposal to any of those persons, now designated by the name of "The Opposition."

My inquiry on this point originated in a sincere conviction, (founded upon an attentive observation of the general state of public opinion, and of the condition of the empire), that no Administration, which shall not comprise some of those persons, can prove advantageous to the Prince Regent, conciliatory towards Ireland, and equal to the conduct of the war on a scale of sufficient extent.

It has been stated erroneously, that the first act of the Prince Regent upon his approach to unrestricted authority, was to establish Mr. Perceval's Administration; but the fact is, that his Royal Highness's first act at that crisis was to dissolve Mr. Perceval's Administration; and to endeavour to form a Cabinet upon a more extended and liberal basis. This endeavour was frustrated at the moment; and the formation of such a Cabinet was represented to his Royal Highness to be impracticable. It has, however, since appeared evident to me, from the discussions and deliberations which I have witnessed in Parliament, that his Royal Highness's benevolent intentions on that subject are now perfectly practicable; and that their accomplishment would tend to promote internal peace and tranquillity, and to invigorate the whole system of our external operations.

Impressed with this sentiment, I should be untrue to his Royal Highness's interests and honour, as well as to the prosperity of the empire, if I concurred in any arrangement of an Administration which did not include a fair and full consideration of this most important point.

After such a dispassionate consideration, my opinion is, that a Cabinet might be formed on an intermediary principle respecting the Roman Catholic claims, equally exempt from the dangers of instant, unqualified concession, and from those of inconsiderate, peremptory exclusion; the entire resources of the empire might be applied to the great objects of the war with general consent, upon a full understanding of the real exigency of the present crisis; and concord and union at home might secure ultimate and permanent success abroad.

(Signed) WELLESLEY.

No. V. Is an explanatory reply from Lord Liverpool to Lord Wellesley. His Lordship observes, on the Catholic question, that though his sentiments remained unchanged, it is not to be inferred that under no circumstances it would be possible to make any alteration in the laws respecting the Roman Catholics. On the contrary, he had stated in Parliament, that circumstances might arise in which some alteration would be advisable; but he had never yet heard a specific proposition as to what part of the existing securities it was intended to repeal, what part it was intended to preserve, and what were the new securities which must be constituted in the place of those of those which are at present in force.—His Lordship, in short, owns, that, under the present circumstances, he does not believe such a project practicable, consistently with the attainment of the avowed objects of really satisfying the Roman Catholics, and of affording an adequate security to the Established Church and Constitution.

No. VI. Is Lord Wellesley's reply to the above, in which he wishes to have the specific statement of all or any of those circumstances under which Lord Liverpool would advise an alteration in the laws respecting the Catholics.—In regard to the explanation required by Lord Liverpool as to the necessary securities, the Marquis thinks that the question is only attainable by a full consideration and discussion of the whole subject; and he considers the declared intention of resisting the first step towards such a discussion as an effectual barrier against such an explanation. "Reason and moderation (says Lord W.) must appear in our consideration of their prayer, if we hope to infuse those qualities into their (the Catholics) proceedings."—As to the War in the Peninsula, his Lordship says, that his objection to the system pursued, applied to its whole frame and fabric, both in Spain and Portugal, which, in his judgment, must be corrected and extended.

[Mr. Canning's answer to Lord Liverpool's proposal, states, that by entering into the Administration on such terms (uniting with men who were agreed in the policy of resisting all consideration of the Catholic Claims), he should incur such a loss of public and private character as would disappoint the object which the Prince Regent had in view, and render his accession to the Government a new source of weakness rather than an addition of strength.]

ON THE DEATH OF MR. PERCEVAL AND THE SIGNS OF THE TIMES.

MR. EXAMINER,—The melancholy events that have lately taken place in different parts of the kingdom, evince that a spirit of sanguinary violence has infected a great body of our countrymen, to which the English character has hitherto been an utter stranger. It cannot be denied that there is too much truth in this assertion, and it may not be useless to inquire the cause of this change of character; for, like every other moral effect, it must have its appropriate cause; besides the pressure of that distress which harasses the middle and labouring classes. This perversity of moral feeling, which seeks relief by acts of violence and assassination, when it infects whole bodies of men heretofore industrious and peaceable, must originate in some glaring instances of injustice that have familiarised the mind with scenes of iniquity. If such have been practised and defended by the rulers of any nation, we need not be surprised if the influence of their example should extend to the lower orders of the community. For instance, should there exist a nation whose Governors and Senators have made a scoff of national morality; who have publicly declared that an unprovoked attack on a neutral and defenceless State can be justified on principles of convenience; that to plunder, burn, and destroy an unoffending city, and to involve its inhabitants in destruction, becomes a lawful act, whenever our fears prompt us to believe that on some future occasion it may be plundered by our enemies, and its stores employed to our annoyance; should there exist a nation where such principles were defended and practised by its rulers, we need not seek further for the perversion of public feeling, or be surprised if the populace, seduced by such examples, should make their fears and their wishes the rule of right, trampling reason, justice, and humanity, under foot.

Would to God, Sir, that the name of *Copenhagen* could be blotted from the annals of my country, and that foul

attack, and the still fouler principles by which it was defended, were for ever erased from the memory of mankind!—Greatly are those mistaken who suppose that such principles and such examples have no baneful influence on the public mind. I have been long and extensively acquainted with the state of society in the northern counties, and I do not believe there was a cottage or a workshop in all the manufacturing districts, where the attack of Copenhagen was not a subject of surprise, and where the principles by which it was defended were not discussed. Yes, Sir, the labouring classes understood very well Mr. Canning's laugh at the term national morality, and were most distinctly acquainted with what was meant by making convenience the rule of right, and murdering the peaceable inhabitants of a city from motives of fancied future security. Those who are not personally acquainted with the population of England north of Trent, have no idea of the influence which the conduct of our rulers has on public feeling, or of the interest with which their conduct is discussed. This ignorance prevents them from discerning the Signs of the Times, or perceiving the necessity of tracing back our steps, and recurring to sound old principles of national morality in our intercourse with other nations, and to notions of strict integrity in the management of the public income. When it is averred by a party in the State that there is no public law but *might* to regulate our conduct with neutral nations; that in private life every one has a right to as much of the public revenue as he can grasp, and to consider it as a freehold; and that public virtue is only the catchword of knaves to delude fools;—when such principles are avowed and acted upon, we may well fear that the sacred bonds of society are nearly loosed; for most miserably are those deceived who believe that the influence of political profligacy and corruption can be confined to the higher orders, by distributing a few bibles and prayer-books amongst the poor: as well might we oppose the inundations of the mountain torrent by hedging up piles of chaff. The inefficacy of such expedients is proved by the example of Bellingham: the prayer-book and the pistol were both in requisition at the same time. Independently of the horror which this act must excite in every virtuous mind, he has deprived his country of an inestimable blessing: I do not mean of the benefit of Mr. Perceval's Administration, but of the instructive example of his future penitence. I had confidently anticipated the period when the Minister, submitting to the common infirmities that flesh is heir to, approached the solemn hour when

"Tir'd dissimulation drops her mask;"

when the sophistries and the vanities of life are of no more avail to deceive others, or screen the truth from ourselves. At this moment the shades of the slaughtered inhabitants of Zealand might have passed in long and silent procession before his mental eye: he would then, in the anguish of his soul, have deplored his fatal departure from the golden rule of doing unto others as we would have other men do unto us: he would have raised his dying voice, and left a warning legacy to his country, to shun the deadly principles of his Colleagues by which he had been seduced. In the language of the ancient patriarch, he might have cried out,—"Instruments of cruelty are in their habitations—O my soul, come not thou into their secret: unto their assembly, mine honour, be not thou united."

VENUS.

DEPRECIATION OF MONEY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE EXAMINER.

SIR,—As the House of Commons now sit in a Committee of Enquiry into the cause of the present distress of the labouring part of the community, I beg leave, through the medium of your Paper, to submit the following facts to their consideration, as including in themselves, perhaps, all the just causes to which public complaint can be traced.

About sixty pamphlets, it is said, have been published since the Bullion Committee made their Report, denying the depreciation of our currency; and Earl Stanhope's Bill passed into law on the presumption that the value of money remains unaltered by time.

In the reign of Edward the Confessor, 770 years ago, one sixpence was the price of, or could purchase, one quarter of eight bushels of wheat; and, of course, its value in any other commodity (vide *Fleetwood's Chronicum Preciosum.*) At the present time it requires 240 sixpences to do the same thing, the quarter of wheat being 6*l*. From this fact, making wheat the standard of value, and time the arbiter, I infer that a depreciation of 240 to one, or 24,000 per cent. has taken place upon our circulation since the year 1042; or of 120 to one, or 12,000 per cent. even did the quarter of wheat sell but for half its present value. Is it so, or is it not? or, be it as it may, the limited annuitant of eight bushels of wheat, 770 years ago, is now, or would be if alive, reduced to less than one third of a quartern loaf, its price being above 1s. 6d. Is there no just cause of public complaint that can be traced to this fact?—This, in principle, though unnamed as to the extent, is the loss to the limited annuitants, to which the Bullion Committee, who maintained the depreciation of our currency, wished to call the attention of Parliament; of what avail is it then to Earl Stanhope to maintain the validity of its value? This loss to the limitted annuitants bears not so hard upon the landowners and labourers, but they are the slower victims of its irresistible progress.

About the Revolution of 1688, when paper money, it may be said, commenced, the price of the quartern loaf was about three-pence; and the average wages of husbandry labour, in England, about 6s. a-week (vide *Sir F. M. Eden on the State of the Poor*), consequently the labourer then received in wages money sufficient to purchase about the value of twenty-four quartern loaves a-week. In 1792, the average wages of the same labour was about 9s. a-week: but as the price of the quartern loaf rose to seven-pence, the labourer only receives in wages the money required to purchase about the value of 15 quartern loaves a-week. In 1812 it is more over than under the mark, to say, that the average weekly wages of the same labour amounts to 15s.; yet even at this price, as the price of the quartern loaf is above 1s. 6d., the labourer does not receive in wages the money required to purchase the value of 10 quartern loaves a-week.

The fact then is, that with an advanced wages of from 6s. to 9s. a-week, from 1688 to 1792, the labourer lost about nine quartern loaves a-week of his real wages; and that with an advanced wages of from 9s. to 15s. a-week, from 1792 to 1812, he has lost about five loaves a-week; making together a loss of about 14 quartern loaves a-week in the last 124 years, notwithstanding that his money wages has been advanced from about 6s. to 15s. a-week. This hard case strictly applies to the landholders who have advanced their rents only in the ratio of the advance made in the price of labour; and particularly to such as in 1688 may have let their land at 124 years lease; or in 1792 at 21 years lease. Even in the last case they are reduced to one-third of the quarters of wheat, or quartern loaves, which the rent stipulated for could purchase when the leases were granted. The reason cannot be concealed, however serious the attempt to conceal it may be. Such is the facility with which money can now be created, or credit obtained, to pay current expences, that were they to-day to raise the rent of their land 50 per cent., to-morrow their tenant would advance its produce 100 per cent.

This, in principle, is the race which the landowners and labourers have been running with the farmers and corn dealers; or rather with the credit and monied interests, ever since barter ceased to be the mode of exchanging labour. Why can they not see the folly of it? Why do they not perceive that they are exactly "like a man with a wooden leg, who follows a hare; the faster they run the farther they are from their object?" that like him they are gaining ground but losing their distance. If they cannot, the following facts may open their eyes, if they are to be opened before it is too late.

In 1688, as before stated, the price of the quartern loaf was about three-pence; and then, of course, the fundholder received about 80 quartern loaves for his pound sterling annuity. In 1792, the price of the loaf being about seven-pence, he received about 34 loaves; but as the price of the loaf is now above 1s. 6d., he receives only about 13 loaves for his pound sterling annuity. From about the commencement of the funding system then, to the beginning of the present war, twenty years ago, the fundholders have lost about 46 quartern loaves out of the 80 which their pound sterling annuity was worth 104 years before; and of the remaining 34, which they had at the commencement of the war against the French Revolution, they are only left in possession of about thirteen at the *glorious* fall of Badajoz in 1812, which, added together, give a loss to the fundholders of 67 quartern loaves out of the 80, which their pound sterling was worth 124 years ago. Is there no just cause of public complaint that can be traced to this indubitable loss? Making bread the standard of value, is there nothing in this indubitable loss that goes to prove the depreciation of our currency? To solve this question, *make bread the standard value of land and labour*, and then point out, if you can, the mode in which the depreciation of money could produce it; the public grievance that would require Parliamentary Reform to redress it, or that would not cease of itself, *finding agricultural employment for our starving manufacturers.*—But whether there be or be not any just cause of complaint in this loss, the question arithmetically stated stands thus:—Supposing the system pursued for the last twenty years to be continued; if the fundholders have lost 21 quartern loaves out of 34 in the last 20 years, how many years will it take them to lose the remaining 13?—Answer, not 13 years.

What, then, will be the consequence? Why, that Earl Stanhope and others who consider their landed property as "mortgaged to the fundholders," will convert their estates into cash and pay them. But where is the cash to come from? They must answer that question, for I cannot. It is sufficient for me to hope that they are possessed of too much honour to pledge their estates for more money than they can raise upon them, or to say, that they have mortgaged their estates, unless they are ready to part with the last acre of them to relieve their starving "mortgagees." Besides, as a national debt of nine hundred millions is but a trifle to the money value of the landed property of Great Britain and Ireland, nothing is more certain than that, should the interest of it cease to be worth any thing in 13 years, every shilling of its capital will be discharged *if* the money required to discharge it can be found. The word *if* must be taken in; but against it we must place the honour and sincerity of Earl Stanhope, as the spokesman of the landed proprietors, and friend of the fundholders.

If these remaks merit your attention, I may hereafter trouble you with a few observations on the means required to enable the landowners and labourers, for the benefit of themselves and fundholders, to preserve the real value of their land and labour from the deadly grasp of the credit and money-lenders.—In the mean time, I am, Sir, your's respectfully, HECTOR CAMPBELL.

Surrey-street, Strand, May 11, 1812.

SPEECH OF SIR FRANCIS BURDETT.

SIR,—Your remarks on the Speech of Sir Francis Burdett, in the debate on the Barrack Estimates, have surprised and disappointed me. When all the venal Prints of the day are at work to mislead the Public,—when calumny exerts its envenomed tongue,—when detraction raises its hollow voice,—when corruption assumes the garb of purity,—when sophistry employs its every art to bewilder and mislead,—to you, Sir, I look for true discrimination, sound reasoning, generous sentiment, clearness of conception, and a just estimate of men and things.—But, in the manner you have noticed the Member for Westminster, in your leading article of last Sunday, you seem deficient in all your usual characteristics, and there is nothing but the name to induce us to believe we are reading the *Examiner*.

With the thinking class of readers, your sentiments, Sir, have considerable weight, and it is on this account I am the more anxious to remove any wrong impression, which, with the best intentions, you may have made on the public mind;—and I solicit it, Sir, not as a favour, but as a right, to be allowed to defend a great and enlightened Patriot through the same medium by which he has been misrepresented.

And truly, Mr. Examiner, when I consider the gross and unqualified abuse which Sir Francis has received for this speech,—the shameful clamour and disorder which was excited in the place where it was delivered,—the invidious insinuations and pitiful reflections of Perceval in reply,—the contemptible sneering which his contemptible observations occasioned, and the libellous and base charges of the *Courier* and the *Post*,—I cannot but think you have been a little ungenerous in joining in this detestable hue and cry, or acting for a moment with the hosts of corruption, whatever your opinions might have been as to the obnoxious speech. Was it not enough that this firm friend of Reform and of the People was assailed by every lying tongue and every poisoned pen, without the *Examiner's* giving a sort of sanction to the hackneyed insinuations about the *violence* of this terrific Baronet,—and his *inflaming* and *irritating* the public mind, and all such stale *newspaper alarms?*

But, Sir, let us proceed together to examine this violent and irritating speech. We will introduce it by your own observations:—"In pursuance, therefore, of our duty as advocates of the same cause and same feelings in general with Sir F. Burdett, we cannot but deprecate and lament the very unwarrantable, useless, and pernicious violence, with which he has spoken of the soldiers that have been called out on this melancholy occasion."—Now, Mr. Editor, you set out evidently under a wrong impression;—for where, let me ask you, has the Baronet spoken with violence of the *soldiers?*—it is those who have called out the soldiers, against whom his *violence* is directed. It would be strange, indeed, after the exertions Sir Francis has made in behalf of the soldiers, if he could speak of them in the way you represent him;—and even if any expressions he had used could be tortured into the meaning, which you, Sir, and Gen. Manners, have put upon them,—surely his own explanation ought to have been sufficient in answer to the charge of casting a slur upon the army. It is not on the army, said he, that I wish to throw a slur, but it is the Administration of the Country that I charge with employing the army to commit these murders.

We will now select one of the most *violent* passages of this *violent* speech, and remark upon it as we pass on, in order, if possible, to place the matter in its true light. Sir F. Burdett said, "the object of Government in erecting Barracks all over the country was, that they might use the troops paid by the People to subdue the People." Is there any thing *violent* in this?—I hope Sir Francis is mistaken in what he says;—other Members said as much:—I hope from my heart they are all mistaken. He said further, that "the House had been often told of the usurpation and tyranny of Bonaparte; but what would be said now of our Government, when it was confessed that it was not now a Government by laws, but by the sword." Well, Mr. Examiner, what is there of *violence* in this?—Sir Francis does not mean to say that there is *no* law in the country, but that whilst the law exists, the People are ruled or kept in submission by the sword:—for let it be observed, that he considers the interference of the military, in the recent instances, as directly illegal and contrary to the Constitution of his country. The interference of the *military*, I say, Mr. Editor, and not the suppression of riot and disorder:—mark the distinction!—The strictures of Mr. Cobbett, on this part of Sir F. Burdett's

speech, are well worthy of attention:—he has shown, with his usual acuteness, that a Government by the sword may exist in connection with the laws, or else we are guilty of a great deal of slander towards France, which we say is a Military Despotism,—a Government by the Sword,—and yet, says he, in France there are Laws, regular Codes of Laws, defining with great minuteness the crimes and punishments;—there are Justices of the Peace, Constables, Sheriffs, Juries, Attorneys-General, Judges, and Hangmen.

But the Baronet went on to explain his meaning:—"He would contend, that the Administration now governed by the sword instead of the law, and that the law did not give power to the Magistrates to employ the military as they do employ them.—Were not the soldiers daily committing murders upon the People?" Certainly, if they are acting under no legal authority;—for this is the ground Sir Francis takes:—he denies the legality of calling the soldiers out on these occasions:—he contends that the Magistrate has no such power;—that they have neglected the provisions of the law, and acted in a way that was never contemplated by the Riot Act. If this is the case, is he not justified in saying that the Administration now governed by the sword, and that, under their direction, the soldiers were daily committing murder on the People?

Now, then, Mr Editor, the matter stands thus:—Sir F. Burdett censures not the *soldiers*—but the Ministers;—and not the Ministers for attempting to suppress the riots, but for doing it by improper means,—for doing it by the *soldiery*, instead of the Constitutional Officers appointed by law.

Having, as I trust, exhibited the case in its true light, let us attend to your strictures. There are times and occasions, you tell us, in which "a recourse to military interference is absolutely and indispensably necessary for the commonest security of property and life, and the present occasion is one of them." Now, Sir, I deny the principle altogether; and I maintain, that it is neither supported by justice, policy, or law, to preserve the internal order of a free State by means of *the military*.—But, you add, "there is no alternative; either force must be threatened by force, or insurrection must do as it pleases." It is truly surprising, Sir, how you should fall into such reasoning as this. You are beating the air;—as though Sir Francis, or any other man in his senses, would pretend to deny but what force must be opposed to force in some instances;—as though he, who has so much at stake, could assert that plunder and rioting should rage uncontrouled. "Either a small and disciplined body (say you) must overawe a larger, or the latter must be left to all the caprices of an unreasoning resentment, and terrify, plunder and destroy, to no purpose but to make the case worse." Well! who has denied this?—The only question is, whether this small and disciplined multitude is to consist of the *soldiery*? Sir Francis Burdett says no—the law of the land says no—Mr. Perceval says yes—Mr. Examiner says yes.—Now, let me ask, for what purpose are Armies raised but to defend the Country against Foreign Foes?—It may be said, that particular circumstances may make it necessary to employ the soldier at home in the case of riot or insurrection. To this I would observe, that if the ostensible object of supporting the military is to protect the nation against the foreign foe, the occurrence of all domestic disorder must be met by domestic regulations; and if the Constitution ever intended the military to be employed in this way, the principle would be acknowledged in some of its enactments. But to what law shall we go to find this? The Riot Act is usually referred to—and what says Sir Francis, in his *violent* speech, concerning this Act?—"The Riot Act allowed the Constitutional Officers, Sheriffs, Constables, &c. to interfere, and justified *those Constitutional Officers in using force* (*using force*, Mr. Editor,) if the populace would not disperse in a certain time after reading the Act. The Riot Act did not prescribe that the soldiery should be ordered to fire upon unarmed multitudes for the purpose of dispersing them." Now, Sir, you find not a syllable in the Riot Act about using the military; and if the employment of such a formidable power was ever intended by that Act, surely soldiers would have been mentioned as well as Constables. In justification, then, of Sir Francis, it is only necessary to say, that if he considered the employment of the military even to suppress rioting as illegal,—if he considered, as no doubt he did, the remedy to be worse than the disease, he deserves well of his country for reprobating, in the strongest terms, not the soldiers, but those who had dared, unconstitutionally, to employ the soldiers. Force must be restrained by force—no one disputes it; but does it follow, therefore, that any kind of force is to be used—that the provisions of the law are to be neglected, and that a body of men who are paid by the People for another purpose, are to be at the arbitrary disposal of these individuals who are as little to be trusted with the public safety as with the public purse? For though the soldiery may have done good in this particular instance, in protecting the lives and property of our fellow creatures,—yet the consequence may be fatal to Englishmen:—it introduces a most dangerous and alarming principle:—it places a power in the hands of Ministers, to which there is no controul, against which there is no appeal, and which may be employed not merely to check an insurrection, but to crush the liberties of the People.

Sir Francis Burdett looks with the stern eye of a determined Patriot at the general tendency of the present system of politics: he observes, that in proportion as our Rulers become more corrupt, Barracks and Military Depots are building in and about the Metropolis. Such appearances make him jealous of the liberties of his country; and liberty, he knows, is only secure when guarded by law,—and law, he considers, is violated whenever the soldier is brought to act against the People:—against *the People*, I say, notwithstanding the insinuations and inuendoes of Mr. Perceval the other night. For Sir Francis Burdett is not ashamed to recognise the sober, the industrious, the ingenious Manufacturers of England—the wealth and strength of the nation—as the People!!—The blood of the Poor is precious in his sight.—Can any language be too strong against those men who first drive the Manufacturers to desperation and outrage, and then shoot them?—The labouring Poor of England are famed for their industry throughout the world:—they ask but little—they ask that as a blessing which was denounced on man as a curse—they ask to eat their bread by the sweat of their brows. It is very easy, Mr. Editor, to make cold and temporising speculations, and to tell the starving Manufacturers "that their violent proceedings are really as injurious to their own necessities as to the peace of their neighbours,"—and that "it is but humanity to repress them by violence:"—and so, when a faithful and docile horse kicks and prances at the time the spurs of his merciless rider are goading his sides, it may be reckoned humanity to endeavour to keep him quiet with the whip.—O, Sir, I like not such humanity.—Your's, &c.

Blackfriars-Road, May 11. W. C.

EXECUTION OF BELLINGHAM.

About six o'clock on Monday morning, Bellingham rose and dressed himself with great composure, and read for half an hour in the Prayer-book. Dr. Ford, the Ordinary of Newgate, being then announced, the prisoner shook him most cordially by the hand, and left his cell for the room allotted for the condemned criminals. He repeated the declaration which he had frequently before made, that his mind was perfectly calm and composed, and that he was perfectly prepared to meet his fate with resignation. After a few minutes spent in prayer, the sacrament was administered to him; during the whole of which ceremony, he seemed to be deeply impressed, and repeatedly uttered some pious ejaculations. After this ceremony was ended, and both he and Dr. Ford had prayed fervently, the prisoner was informed that the Sheriffs were ready. He answered in a firm tone—"I am perfectly ready also." The Sheriffs and Under-Sheriffs, and the Gentlemen who had been admitted as their friends into the Prison, then proceeded to what is called the Press-yard, and immediately afterwards the prisoner was brought out. He descended into the yard with a firm and intrepid pace, and looking up, he observed with great coolness—"Ah! it rains heavily!" He then, by desire of one of the Turnkeys, placed his foot firmly upon an anvil, in order to have his irons struck off, which were uncommonly heavy.—

While the man was striking the bolts out, he repeatedly said —"mind, mind—take care, take care," as if feeling pain from the blows of the hammer. Frequently he looked up to the sky.

In knocking off his irons, the man who performed that office at one time experienced much difficulty in driving the rivetted bolts through one of the rings which encircled his feet, upon which Bellingham, with the greatest composure, said to him—"Strike in the centre, and more firmly, and then you will accomplish it."—While this was doing, he several times eyed the Noblemen and Gentlemen who were standing round, with great steadiness, and something like a dignified air. No emotions of fear or compunction were visible. After he was liberated from his fetters, he returned quickly, but not at all hurriedly, into the room, when most of the spectators in the Press-yard retired into another adjoining, at the request of the Lord Mayor, who with the Sheriffs and five or six other persons, went into the room, when the following communication with the prisoner took place.

Mr. Sheriff Birch.—"The public mind, Mr. Bellingham, requires to be satisfied upon a most important point, whether any other person was in any degree connected with you in this dreadful deed, and whether it was perpetrated on any public ground?"

Bellingham, (who stood very firmly, and who with an unaltered countenance attentively and respectfully listened to what was said, replied in a firm tone of voice,) "Certainly not."

Sheriff Heygate.—"Then it was your own affair,—it was from personal resentment."

Bellingham appeared hurt at the latter expression; and after repeating the words—"personal resentment," with an indignant, or rather a dignified tone, said, "I bore no resentment to Mr. Perceval as a man—and as a man I am sorry for his fate. I was referred from Minister to Minister, from Office to Office, and at length refused redress for my grievances. It was my own sufferings that caused the melancholy event, and I hope it will be a warning to future Ministers, to attend to the applications and prayers of those who suffer by oppression. Had my Petition been brought into Parliament, this catastrophe would not have happened. I am sorry for the sufferings I have caused to Mr. Perceval's family and friends."

Mr. Sheriff Heygate.—"It would be right they should know you feel so much regret."

Bellingham.—"You may communicate it—I wish them to know it."

Sheriff Heygate.—"I hope you feel deep contrition for the deed."

Upon which the prisoner, (assuming an attitude of considerable dignity) said—"I hope, Sir, I feel as a man ought to do."

Sheriff Heygate.—"You know, that to take away the life of a man unlawfully is a heinous crime."

Bellingham.—"The Scriptures, you know, Sir, say that."

Sheriff Heygate.—"I hope you have made your peace with God, and that by your repentance you will meet the Almighty with a pure soul."

Bellingham.—"No one can presume to do that, Sir. No mortal can be pure in his sight; only our Saviour went from this world into his presence with a pure spirit."

Here he seemed desirous of quitting the room to meet his fate, and turning to the Sheriffs, with a mild but firm tone, said, "Gentlemen, I am quite ready;" upon which the Ordinary of Newgate looked at his watch, and said "we have ten minutes more." The Executioners then proceeded to bind his hands and pinion his arms, during which he turned to one of them and said, "do every thing properly, that I may not suffer more than necessary." To which the man answered, he would take care to do so. He examined the rope, and said he thought it was too slight, but he was assured that it was of the most proper size; and he said that was all he desired, as it ought to be strong enough to bear his weight.—After his hands and arms had been fastened about a minute or two, Bellingham observed that he was not fastened tight enough, and begged the Executioner to draw the cords tighter, observing, "I wish not to have the power of offering any resistance."—The Executioner then loosened his cravat a little, to expedite the final removal of it when he should reach the scaffold, the cause of which being explained, he said, "Certainly do so, it is perfectly right."

The procession, which moved quickly along, was followed by about two dozen Noblemen and Gentlemen. The Sheriffs and some of the Officers first went out of the Debtor's door upon a part of the scaffold, between the door and the place of execution, a little lower in situation, covered over from the rain. Here they stood with only their own officers, the Lord Mayor, and about six Gentlemen, the others being left inside the door in the prison. Bellingham ascended the scaffold accompanied by Dr. Ford, the executioner, and one or two officers, who kept rather back, the ordinary and executioner alone going forward with him.

He ascended the scaffold with rather a light step, a cheerful countenance, and a confident, a calm, but not at all an exulting air; he looked about him a little lightly and rapidly, which seems to have been his usual manner and gesture; but he had no air of triumph, nor disposition to pay attention to the mob. On his appearance, a confused noise arose among the mob, from the desire and attempts of some to huzza him, counteracted by a far greater number who called "Silence!" He took no notice of this, but submitted quietly, and with a disposition to accommodate, in having the rope fastened round his neck, nor did he seem to notice any thing whatever that passed in the mob, or to be any way gratified by the friendly disposition which some manifested towards him.

Before the cap was put over his face, Dr. Ford asked if he had any last communication to make, or any thing in particular to say? He was again proceeding about Russia and his family, when Dr. Ford stopped him, calling his attention to the eternity into which he was entering, and praying, Bellingham praying fervently also.

The last thing the clergyman said to him, was asking him how he felt? To which he answered calmly and collectively, saying, "He thanked God for having enabled him to meet his fate with so much fortitude and resignation."

When the executioner proceeded to put the cap over his face, Bellingham objected to it, and expressed a strong wish the business could be done without it; but Dr. Ford said that was impossible. While the cap was putting on, and fastening, (it being tied round the lower part of the face by a white handkerchief) and just when he was tied up, about a score of persons in the mob set up a loud and reiterated cry of "God bless you! God bless you!" This cry lasted while the cap was fastening on, and though those who set it up were loud, it was joined in but by a very few. The Ordinary asked Bellingham if he heard what the mob were saying? He said he heard them crying out something, but he did not understand what it was, and inquired what? The cry having by this time ceased, the clergyman did not inform him what it was.—The fastening on of the cap being accomplished, the executioner retired. A perfect silence ensued.—The crowd evidently expected he would be turned off instantly, but Dr. Ford continued praying with him for about a minute, while the executioner went below the scaffold, and preparations were made to strike away its supporters. The clock struck eight, and while it was striking the seventh time, the clergyman and Bellingham both fervently praying, the supporters of the internal square of the scaffold were struck away, and Bellingham dropped, and he then remained only visible down to his knees.—The clergyman was left standing on the outer frame of the scaffold. When Bellingham sunk, the most perfect and awful silence prevailed, not even the slightest attempt at a huzza or noise of any kind was made.—He did not struggle at first, and but very little afterwards, the executioners being below pulling his legs, that he might die quickly; they were concealed in the enclosure from the sight of the populace. As Bellingham dropped, the clergyman retired from the scaffold, and in ten minutes afterwards the mob, which was not very great, began to retire.

The body hung till nine o'clock, and as soon as it was cut down, was placed in a cart, and covered with a sack. The assistant of the executioner, and a boy, got into the cart, and preceded by the City Marshal, the body was conveyed up the Old Bailey, along Newgate-street. The populace followed the cart

close, and as the windows were thronged with spectators, the executioner two or three times removed the sack from the body that it might be seen. The cart turned down St. Martin's-le-Grand, up Little Britain, and the body was delivered at St. Bartholomew's Hospital in Bell-yard. The populace then dispersed.

The scaffold or platform of execution was well guarded with additional wooden and iron fences, none but peace-officers being in view, or indeed within the city.

In all the conversations he has had with Doctor Ford, Bellingham, so far from exhibiting any thing like contrition, continued to glory in the act for which he was about to suffer. He talked incessantly of the non-redress of his alledged grievances, nor would he listen to any of the suggestions of Dr. Ford on the impossibility of any Government interfering to prevent the regular course of the laws in another country. He constantly wound up his answers by expressing a hope that the fate of Mr. Perceval would prove a warning to men in power not to neglect the claims of injured individuals, and he continued to the last to exult in the success of his efforts to revenge his own injuries.

The following is the letter alluded to by Bellingham in his referred to—

"TO THEIR WORSHIPS THE POLICE MAGISTRATES OF THE PUBLIC OFFICE, IN BOW-STREET.

"SIRS—I much regret its being my lot to have to apply to your Worships under most peculiar and novel circumstances.—For the particulars of the case, I refer to the enclosed letter from Mr. Secretary Ryder, the notification from Mr. Perceval, and my Petition to Parliament, together with the printed papers herewith. The affair requires no farther remark, than that I consider his Majesty's Government to have completely endeavoured to close the door of justice, in declining to have, or even to permit, my grievances to be brought before Parliament for redress, which privilege is the birthright of every individual. The purport of the present is, therefore, once more to solicit his Majesty's Ministers, through your medium, to let what is right and proper be done in my instance, which is all I require. Should this reasonable request be finally denied, I shall then feel justified in executing justice myself—in which case I shall be ready to argue the merits of so reluctant a measure with his Majesty's Attorney-General, wherever and whenever I may be called upon so to do. In the hopes of averting so abhorrent but compulsive an alternative, I have the honour to be, Sirs, your very humble and obedient servant,

"JOHN BELLINGHAM."

"*No. 9, New Millman-street, March, 23, 1812.*"

He also wrote a letter to his wife, of which the following is a copy:—

"MY BLESSED MARY,

"It rejoiced me beyond measure to hear you are likely to be well provided for. I am sure the public at large will participate in, and mitigate your sorrows; I assure you, my love, my sincerest endeavours have ever been directed to your welfare.—As we shall not meet any more in this world, I sincerely hope we shall do so in the world to come. My blessing to the boys, with kind remembrance to Miss Stephens, for whom have the greatest regard in consequence of her uniform affection for them. With the purest intentions, it has always been my misfortune to be thwarted, misrepresented, and ill-used in life; but, however, we feel a happy prospect of compensation in a speedy translation to life eternal.—It's not possible to be more calm or placid than I feel, and nine hours more will waft me to those happy shores where bliss is without alloy. Your's ever affectionate,

"JOHN BELLINGHAM."

"*Sunday Night Eleven o'Clock.*"

"Dr. Ford will forward you my watch, prayer-book, with a guinea and note.—Once more, God be with you, my sweet Mary.—The public sympathise much for me, but I have been called upon to play an anxious card in life."

Nothing, perhaps, can mark more strongly the distortion of the man's mind than the following note written on Sunday night:

"*Twelve o'Clock.*

"I lost my suit solely through the improper conduct of my Attorney and Counsel, Mr. Alley, in not bringing my witnesses forward, (of which there were more than twenty) in consequence, the Judge took advantage of the circumstance, and I went of [on] the defence without having brought forward a single friend—otherwise I must inevitably have been acquitted.

"JOHN BELLINGHAM."

Bellingham married Miss Mary Ann Neville, daughter of Mr. John Neville, merchant and ship-broker, formerly of Newry, now of Dublin.—A Solicitor, it is said, was lately employed to draw up articles of separation between him and his wife, but they afterwards made up their difference.

"It is a singular fact, that after the body of Bellingham was opened, it was noticed that his heart continued to perform its functions, or in other words, to be alive for four hours after he was laid open. The expanding and contracting powers continued perceptible till one o'clock in the day—a proof of the steady, undismayed character which he preserved to the last gasp. It is said of some men, that the heart dies within them, but here the energies remained when life was extinct."—*Morning Chronicle.*

ACCIDENTS, OFFENCES, &c.

A young female of the name of Lister, cut her throat from ear to ear with a pair of scissars, on Wednesday evening, at her apartments in Hertford-street. The act appears to have been done in a fit of melancholy. Surgical aid was immediately procured, and hopes are entertained of the unfortunate woman's recovery.

A Coroner's Inquest was held on Tuesday, on the body of Mary Hodges, of Vineyard-walk, Clerkenwell. It appeared that the deceased on Monday morning, while in bed, cut her throat with a razor, and afterwards plunged the razor so deeply and forcibly down between the flesh and the bone, that it was found difficult to extract it. Several witnesses were examined, but no ostensible motive could be traced as leading to the dreadful deed.—Verdict, *Lunacy.*

On Friday week was committed to Bodmin gaol, William Bowden, labourer, for the wilful murder of his wife, by stabbing her in several places. The wretch, it is said, was in the act of burning the body with turf, when a neighbour calling at the door, and seeing him much agitated and confused, insisted on going in, by which means this murder was discovered, and the perpetrator was apprehended. They resided at a small house near Redruth.

MARRIAGES.

At Hammersmith Church, by the Rev. Dr. Attwood, Mr. Louis John Lemoine, of Oxford-street, to Miss Mary Ann Williams, of Hammersmith.

On Saturday week, the Rev. L. P. Stephens, of Christ's Hospital, to Miss Wales, of Hackney.

DEATHS.

On Tuesday, suddenly, Mr. Powell, the Prompter of the Lyceum Theatre, and who had been upwards of twenty-five years in that capacity, with the Drury-lane Company. He was the husband of Mrs. Powell, the Actress.

Captain the Hon. John Gore, commanding the Scorpion sloop, on the coast of Africa. A seaman having by accident fallen overboard, he leaped after him with the intent to save the man's life, in which attempt he was drowned. The sloop's boats were lowered for him; the first swamped; of the second he seized the gunwhale, and in his exertions to get in, capsised it with the hands in her, and sunk not to rise again: the hands were picked up with great exertions by lowering the cutter. Capt. Gore had twice before saved men from drowning by his expert swimming.

On Thursday, in Great Mary-le bone-street, Mr. Woelfl, the celebrated Piano Forte Player.

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